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ABSTRACT

This study considers the ways in which the television set appeared and figured in representations of domestic space in middle class women's home magazines from 1948 to 1955. The effect of television on the home from the housewife's perspective is described as two-fold: something which called for a careful rearrangement of the home and the housewife's everyday life within it, rather than simply the representation of a commodity object of desire; and the source of a number of concrete problems regarding women's productive labor in the home, rather than simply an ideal shopping window of commodity display through which the housewife could fantasize consumption. Television is analyzed as the site of a struggle (or disruption) in representations of the home and everyday life within it--e.g., child rearing, the aesthetics of interior design, and even the relations of the married couple--and the role of women's home magazines. It is noted that these magazines reveal the complex socio-historical process by which a female audience was constituted. It is concluded that, at least at the level of representation, the historical process by which television inserted itself into the life of the housewife was marked by a large degree of ambivalence and hesitation. (Appended are 20 notes and 12 figures consisting of reproductions of 1950s advertisements for or including television.) (CCD)

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Ambiguity and Hesitation: Discourses on Television and the Housewife in Women's Home Magazines 1948-55.

Lynn Spigel

In the post-war years the American home was the central figure in an idealized vision of domesticity and commodity comforts. It was here where Rosie the Riveter could retreat as war veterans returned to the labor force. It was here where American industry channeled its surplus of consumer products, products denied to the war-time world. It was here where the American housewife could spend a leisurely afternoon while the electric range, washer-dryer and automatic dishwasher did the dirty work. And it was here where television, after some twenty years' on the corporate drawing board, would finally find its roost.

Indeed, it would appear that television was the crystallization of this post-war shangrila. Not only was it a luxury item in its own right, but it brought to the home a virtual shop window of products. Like the first department stores of the late nineteenth century, it offered women a spectacle of consumption, but now the spectacle was transported into the private space of her living room. In sum, it seems that the coming of television was the answer to the housewife's prayers. Or was it?

In this paper I look at the way in which the television set appeared and figured into representations of domestic space in middle class women's home magazines from 1948-55. Quite contrary to this picture of domestic bliss, television was the site of a struggle (or disruption) in representations of the home and

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and everyday life within it. Television threatened to disrupt child rearing, the aesthetics of interior design, and even the relations of the couple. Nowhere was this threat more pronounced than in the case of women. As HOUSE BEAUTIFUL warned its readers in 1950, " Television is going to be a powerful force toward dictating to housewives...how they should look, what they should wear.... This trend toward accepting as gospel everything that appears on the television screen-- the mannerisms of the actress, the cut of the dress, the design of the chair--ought to be vigorously rejected" (1).

How is it possible to write the history of these discourses produced for and distributed to the American housewife? And how can they add to an understanding of television history in general? In the years under consideration more than half of all American homes installed a television set and the basic features of the network oligopoly were set in motion. Historical studies have concentrated upon the latter half of this problematic. That is to say, the history of television has been conceived primarily as a history of the economic, regulatory, and political struggles which gave rise to the network industry (2). But television histories have only marginally attended to the social and domestic context into which television inserted itself. At most, television histories typically explain the coming of television into the home through a set of economic determinations including manufacturer advertising campaigns, network and advertiser programming strategies, and the post-war climate of consumption. But these economic

determinations cannot fully comprehend the process by which television came to be a domestic object and entertainment form.

By looking at representations of television in women's home magazines, we can bring another picture into relief. We can see how the idea of television and its place in the home was circulated to the public (and here, specifically to the middle class woman). Furthermore, we can see that even while the industry and its advertising campaign were attempting to promote the purchase and installation of the television set, popular discourses were replete with hesitation. Primarily, television was spoken of in the context of a profound spatial problematic. The magazines spoke in seemingly endless ways about the management of household spaces and the family's relationship to those spaces vis a vis the coming of television. In what rooms should the television set be placed? Where should child, mother, and father view television? How could the housewife prepare dinner while watching her favorite program on the living room console? Not only the editorial content, but also the advertisements in the magazines engaged these questions. For as we shall see, they offered their television sets (and also a host of other products) as solutions to the problems which television was shown to bring to the home.

For the housewife, then, television was not represented simply as a commodity object of desire; rather it was something which called for a careful rearrangement of the home and her everyday life within it. Furthermore, it was not simply an ideal shopping window of commodity display through which the housewife could

fantasize consumption. Instead, it was figured in terms of the concrete problems of women's productive labor in the home.

Unlike the many household appliances which increasingly in the early 1900's promised to simplify women's work, the television set threatened to disrupt the efficient functioning of the household. Moreover, while other leisure appliances (e.g. the phonograph, the radio) could be enjoyed while doing household chores, pleasure in television appeared to be fundamentally incompatible with women's productive labor. As William Boddy has noted elsewhere, the television industry recognized this problem early on. As opposed to radio, the industry feared, television might require the housewife's complete attention and thus disrupt her work in the home (3). In 1955 NBC ran a string of advertisements for its morning line-up in women's home magazines which suggested that television viewing could be conducted in distraction. But this was not distraction in viewing itself; rather, it was distraction in the housewife's productive activites. Typically, the ads depicted a housewife who attested to her distracted state. example, " I think I started ironing while I watched the SHEILA GRAHAM SHOW" (4, emphasis mine). The housewife goes on to register each detail of the program but cannot with certainty account for her activities in the home.

If these NBC ads offered distraction as a solution to the television/labor problem, the magazines were not complicit with this remedy alone. Instead, they continually spoke of television's thoroughly negative effect on household chores and suggested that

a careful management of domestic space might solve the problem. In 1950 HOUSE BEAUTIFUL warned of television, "It's impossible to get anything done in the same room while its on. My word of advice is to get the darn thing out of the living room." Ideally the TV room, but also the rumpus room, library, or "as a last resort" the dining room would be acceptable alternatives (5).

In 1949 BETTER HOMES AND GARDENS suggested a more liberal (and more typical) solution to the problem. The television set should be placed in an area where it could be viewed "while you're doing things up in the kitchen..." (6). Similarly, in 1954 THE AMERICAN HOME advised that the television set be placed in the kitchen so that "Mama sees her pet programs..." (7). Via such spatial remedies labor would not be effected by the leisure of viewing nor would viewing be denied by household chores. In fact, household labor and television leisure were continually condensed into one space designed to accomodate both activities. In a 1955 advertisement for the Yellow Pages, this labor-viewing condensation provided the terms of a joke. The graphic depicts a housewife tediously hanging her laundry on the outdoor clothesline. The drudgery of this work is miraculously solved as the housewife brings her laundry into her home and sits before her television set while letting the laundry dry on the TV antenna (fig. 1).

The magazines also spoke of television in terms of the increasing workloads it brought to women. Considering the cleanliness of the living room, HOUSE BEAUTIFUL told its readers in 1952, "Then the men move in for boxing, wrestling, basketball, hockey.

They get excited. Ashes on the floor. Pretzel crumbs. Beer stains." The remedy was spatial. "Lots of sets after a few months have been moved into dens and recreation rooms" (8). In a slight twist of terms, the activity of eating was said to be moving out of the dining area and into the television sitting area. Food stains soiling upholstry, floors, and other surfaces meant extra work for women. Vinyl uphostry, linoleum floors, tiling, and other spill-proof products were recommended. In fact, advertisements for these spill-proof products often made use of the television set in these terms. When advertising its linoleum floor, "famous for its ease of cleaning," Armstrong displayed a television set in its graphic. Next to the chair facing the TV set were a plate of cookies and a beverage (fig. 2). By speaking of the television set in these graphic terms, the advertisement could connote the eating-cleaning-spatial problem-- solved, of course, by Armstrong floors.

The discourses of labor rationalization which, since the late nineteenth century, were central to the Home Economics Movement, were harnessed to this examination of television and increasing workloads. Here, time-motion studies were rigorously applied. All unnecessary human movement which the television set might demand had to be minimized. Again, this called for a careful management of space. Chairs and sofas should be placed so that they they need not be moved for viewing. Alternatively, furniture should be made mobile. By placing wheels on a couch, the housewife could exert minimal engergy while converting a sitting space into

a viewing space. More typically, the television set was made mobile. Wheels could be attached to a TV console or a table model could be placed on a rotating surface and made to swivel towards the spatial direction of the sofa and easy chair (9). More radically, space between rooms could be made continuous in order to minimize the extra movements of household labor which the television set demanded. In 1952 HOUSE BEAUTIFUL suggested a "continuity" of living, dining, and television areas in which "a curved sofa and a folding screen mark off [the] television corner from the living and dining room." Via this carefully managed spatial continuum, "it takes no more than an extra ten steps or so to serve the TV fans" (fig. 3).

In addition, these spatial continuities allowed the housewife to conduct her work among a group engaged in television viewing. For example, in 1951 THE AMERICAN HOME displayed a continuous room in which a woman's table clearing chores in the dining area would not isolate her from television viewers in an adjoining living room area (fig. 4). In that same year HOUSE BEAUTIFUL placed a television set in a "special area" of a kitchen devoted to family leisure-- an area which was "not shut off by a partition." In continuous space "the worker is always part of the group, can share in the...fun while work is in progress" (10). This concern with continuous space vis a vis women's work can be traced back to the early decades of the century. As Gwendolyn Wright explains in her social history of housing, by the 1920's the woman found herself increasingly isolated in her kitchen due to a radical

reduction in the number of domestic servants. Although the Home Economics Movement clamored for solutions to this spatial dilemma, architects did little to respond to the problem, continuing instead to build kitchens which were fully separated from the communal spaces of the home (11). In this sense, we might say that in the post-war years this well-entrenched discourse on female spatial isolation could now use the television set to support its call for solutions. If the female worker was isolated from the television crowd, it was necessary to bring her into the television area. While continuous space was the typical solution, it was possible to integrate the woman without breaking down walls.

The problem of female spatial isolation vis a vis television could be solved through a "corrective cycle of commodity purchases." A wide variety of labor-saving household appliances promised to remedy the dilemma ushered in by the television set.
A 1952 AMERICAN HOME article about the joys of the electric dishwasher is typical here. A graphic depicting a family seated around the living room television console included the caption, " No martyr banished to the kitchen, she never misses television programs. Lunch, dinner dishes are in an electric dishwasher"(12).
In 1950 Hotpoint used the same discursive strategy to sell its electric dishwasher. As the advertisement clearly shows, an electric dishwasher would bring the housewife out of the kitchen and into the living room where she could watch TV with her family (fig. 5).

While the magazines continually sought ways in which to bring the woman into the unified space of the tele-viewing family, they just as often spoke of television in the context of a socio-sexual

division of household spaces (both for leisure and productive activities). In these terms female spatial isolation was not a problem to be solved, but rather an ideal to be achieved (13). Here, the television set was figured as an object of dispute. Siblings would rival over program selections. Or as HOUSE BEAUTIFUL suggested in 1950, "Your wife wants to see Philco Playhouse and you don't. So you look too, or are driven from the room" (14). Harmony gives way to a system of differences in which separate family members have particular relations to television and to domestic space. Father needs a separate space in which to watch sports programming. Children need a room in which to watch westerns. Mother needs a set in the kitchen where she conducts her mealtime chores. In 1955 GE used this division of spaces as a way to promote the purchase of a second television set. A cooking/advice program on a portable set in the kitchen gives mother and daughter a baking lesson, while father watches football on the living room console. The caption reads, "When Dad wants to watch the game...Mom and Sis, the cooking show...there's too much traffic for one TV to handle" (fig. 6).

While the division of spaces was often represented in terms of rooms wholly given over to one tele-viewing family member, the magazines recognized the concrete spatial restrictions of readers' homes. If it was not possible to have a television room of one's own, it was possible to have an area of a room. BETTER HOMES AND GARDENS spoke of a "recreation area of the living room" which was "put to good use as the small fry enjoy a television show" (15). At other times such divided spaces were specifically

labelled as "television areas." Where in many cases the television area was marked off by furniture arrangements or architectural structures such as alcoves, at other times the sign of division was concretized in an object form-- the room divider.

In 1952 BETTER HOMES AND GARDENS displayed a room divider that separated a kitchen work area from its dining area. The cut-off point was a television set built into the wall to the right of the room divider (fig. 7). Thus, the room divider worked to separate the woman's work space from the television space. But as a partial wall still allowing for continuous space, it suggested the perfect compromise between the housewife's isolation from and integration into the family. It was in the sense of this compromise that THE AMERICAN HOME's "discrete" room divider separated a wife's work space from her husband's television space in a house designed for "family living." As the magazine told its readers in 1954, "Mr. Peterson...retired behind his newspaper in the TV end of the living kitchen. Mrs. P. quietly made a great stack of sandwiches ...behind the discrete screen...in the efficient kitchen end of the same room" (16).

This bifurcation of sexual roles, of male (leisure) and female (productive) activities vis a vis television, extended to a discourse on the gendered body. For men television viewing was most often represented in terms of a posture of repose. Men were typically shown to be sprawled out on easy chairs as they watched the set (17). But when it came to women, this passive posture was more problematic. The female body had to be engaged

in productive activitives even as the woman sat watching television. A 1954 advertisement for the Clevelander T-Vue Chair (a chair specifically designed for TV viewing) suggests this in no uncertain terms. While the chair allowed father "to stretch out with his feet on the ottoman," mother's TV leisure was nevertheless productive. For as the caption states, "Mother likes to gently rock as she sews' (fig. 8). A 1950 advertisement for Airfoam furniture cushions used a similar discursive strategy. The graphic shows a husband dozing in his foam rubber cushioned chair as he sits before the television set . Meanwhile, his wife clears away his Tv snack. The text reads, "Man's pleasure is the body-coddling comfort" of the cushioned chair while "Woman's treasure is a home lovely to look at, easy to keep perfectly tidy and neat" with cushioning that "never needs fluffing" (fig. 9). Two points emerge. First, for men pleasure in television is associated with passive relaxation. But for women pleasure is derived through the aesthetics of a well kept home and labor-saving commodities which promise to rationalize the extra labor which television brings to domestic space (labor which is here figured in terms of the extra cushion "fluffing" of the television chair). In this sense, it is not surprising that a host of furniture manufacturers used the television set in advertisements which similarly promised that rubber foam cushioning would cut down on household labor (18).

In addition, the Airfoam ad is typical in that it depicts a female body which finds no comforts of its own, but instead functions to assist in the viewing comforts of others. In this case as elsewhere, the woman's task is figured in terms of TV

snack chores. However, there were other services a woman could provide. A 1953 RCA advertisement for a set with a "Rotomatic Tuning" knob shows a husband sitting comfortably as he watches television. But just in case the strain of handling the automatic tuning knob is too much for him, his wife performs the tuning function (fig. 10). This station tuning chore was typically relegated to the woman and was performed not only on behalf of her husband, but also on behalf of her children.

While the tuning task allowed the housewife to engage in productive activities, it engendered further problems. Specifically, there was something visually unpleasurable about the sight of a woman operating the technology of the receiver. In 1955 Sparton Television offered a solution. Its tuning knob, located at the top of the set, was a remedy for "the sight of a woman tuning a TV set with dials near the floor..."-- a sight which was "most unattractive (19). As this ad suggests, the gender distinctions of body postures extended beyond the continuum of female/productive and male/non-productive, and into an aesthetics of the sexed body itself. A 1953 advertisement for CBS-Coumbia Television illustrates this well. Three alternative viewing postures are taken up by family members. A little boy stretches out on the floor, a father slumps in his easy chair, and the lower portion of a mother's outstretched body is gracefully lifted in a sleek modern chair with a seat which tilts upward (fig. 11). Here as elsewhere, the slovenly posture of masculine viewing is condoned--even to the point where the man is depicted as a "slob" who smokes, drinks beer, eats pretzels, etc. while viewing. On the other hand, feminine

viewing posture takes on a certain visual appeal even as the female body passively reclines.

As this ad indicates, the graphic representation of the female body viewing television had to be carefully controlled, it had to be made visually pleasurable to the observer. For in a fundamental sense, there was something taboo about the sight of a woman viewing television. In all the magazine representations I have looked at, only a handful show a woman actually watching television by herself. Instead, she typically lounges on a chair (perhaps reading a book) while the television set remains turned off in the room (fig. 12). But, what specifically was at stake here? In 1952 BETTER HOMES AND GARDENS stated one quite practical reason for the taboo. The article deals with the problem of privacy in domestic space, suggesting methods for arranging window dressings which allow for a one-way view of the outside world so that neighbors cannot peer into the home. It relates this discourse on privacy and invisibility to a discourse on women's work and television. "You should be able to have big, big windows to let in light and view, windows that let you watch the stars on a summer night without feeling exposed and naked. In good conscience, you should be able to leave the dinner dishes on the table while you catch a favorite TV or radio program, without sensing derogatory comments on your housekeeping" (20). Thus, for the woman, being caught in the act of TV viewing, being seen while watching television, is ultimately degrading because it threatens to reveal her most slovenly housekeeping to the observer.

Given the fact that women are the target audience and prime consumers of sponsor products in the American television market, these women's home magazines begin to reveal a complex socio-historical process by which a female audience for television was constituted. In introducing the idea of television and its place in the home to the middle class housewife, the magazines did not simply promote the purchase and installation of the set. They did not merely speak through the consumer discourses of the sales effort and its advertising campaign. Rather, they spoke of the concrete problems which television posed for the housewife and her productive labor in the home. Furthermore, they suggested that television called for a series of readjustments in domestic space and the woman's everyday life. (Although, the way in which the female reader actually understood and took up these suggestions is another question). Thus, at least at the level of representation, the coming of television into the home was not a smooth transition, nor did the housewife welcome television with open arms. Instead, the historical process by which television inserted itself into the housewife's life was marked by a large degree of ambivalence and hesitation.

NOTES

1. House Beautiful (hereinafter referrred to as HB), February 1950, p. 66.

2. See for Erik Barnouw's standard text, A History of Broadcasting in the United States. 3 vols. (New York: Oxford, 1966-70).

3. William Boddy, "Television and Theories of Television in the Golden Age," (unpublished paper presented at the International Television Studies Conference, London, 1984).

4. Ladies' Home Journal (hereinafter referred to as LHJ), April 1955, p. 130.

5. HB, February 1950, p. 125.

6. Better Homes and Gardens (hereinafter referred to as BHG), September 1949, p. 38.

7. The American Home (hereinafter referrred to as AH), December 1954, p. 39.

8. HB, May 1952, p. 38.

9. Portable television sets were also recommended; however, they appeared much less frequently than did standard models.

10. HB, June 1951, p. 121.

11. Gwendolyn Wright, Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), see espcially p. 172 where Wright argues that even while the woman was isolated in her kitchen, "no builders considered opening up the kitchen....Rather, they praised the smaller, better equipped kitchen, planned for the domestic scientist who had no need of a servent..."

12. AH, September 1952, p. 66.

13. Quite contradictory to the call for continuous space, the articles and advertisements variously suggested "dream kitchens" in which a solitary woman appeared in a shangrila of modern appliances.

14. HB, February 1950, p. 125.

15. BHG, November 1951, p. 263.

16. AH, February 1954, p. 32.

17. Although the male body was shown to relax before the set, men did have a productive function vis a vis television. They worked as the "handyman," building cabinets for the set, etc. Furthermore, magazines geared to male readers such as Popular Mechanics emphasized this handyman function and also ran ads for television technician training schools.

18. Other manufactuers include Foamex cushions, and the Kroehler Furniture Company which offered an entire line of television furniture.

19. HB, May 1955, p. 131.

20. BHG, March 1952, p. 57.

FIGURES

1. AH, May 1955, p. 138.
2. BHG, November 1952, p. 2.
3. HB, May 1952, p. 138.
4. AH, September 1951, p. 27.
5. HB,, December 1950, p. 77.
6. AH, September 1955, p. 95.
7. BHG, March 1952, p. 85.
8. HB, November 1954, p. 158.
9. BHG, October 1952, p. 177.
10. BHG, September 1953, p. 177.
11. BHG, October 1953, p. 151.
12. BHG, September 1955, p. 59.

Looking for
Something?

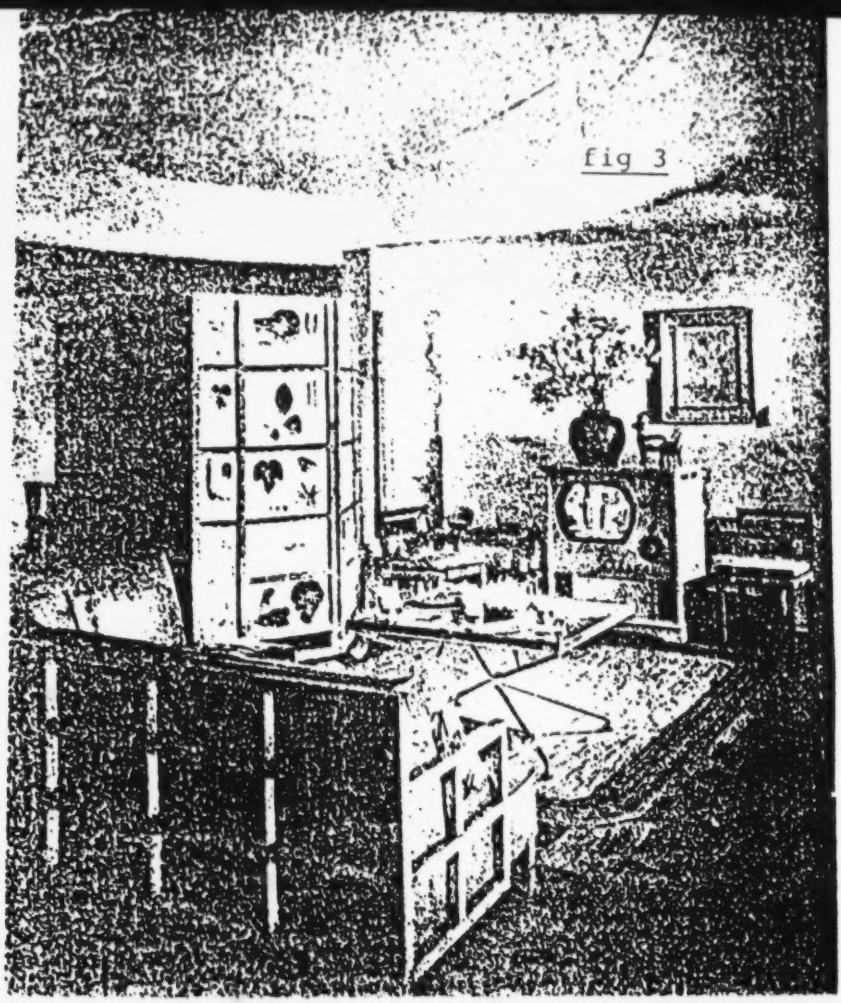
TELEVISION
Yellow Pages
Classified Telephone Directory

FROM LAUNDRIES
TO TELEVISION
WHATEVER YOU NEED
Find It Fast
In The
'Yellow Pages'

fig 1

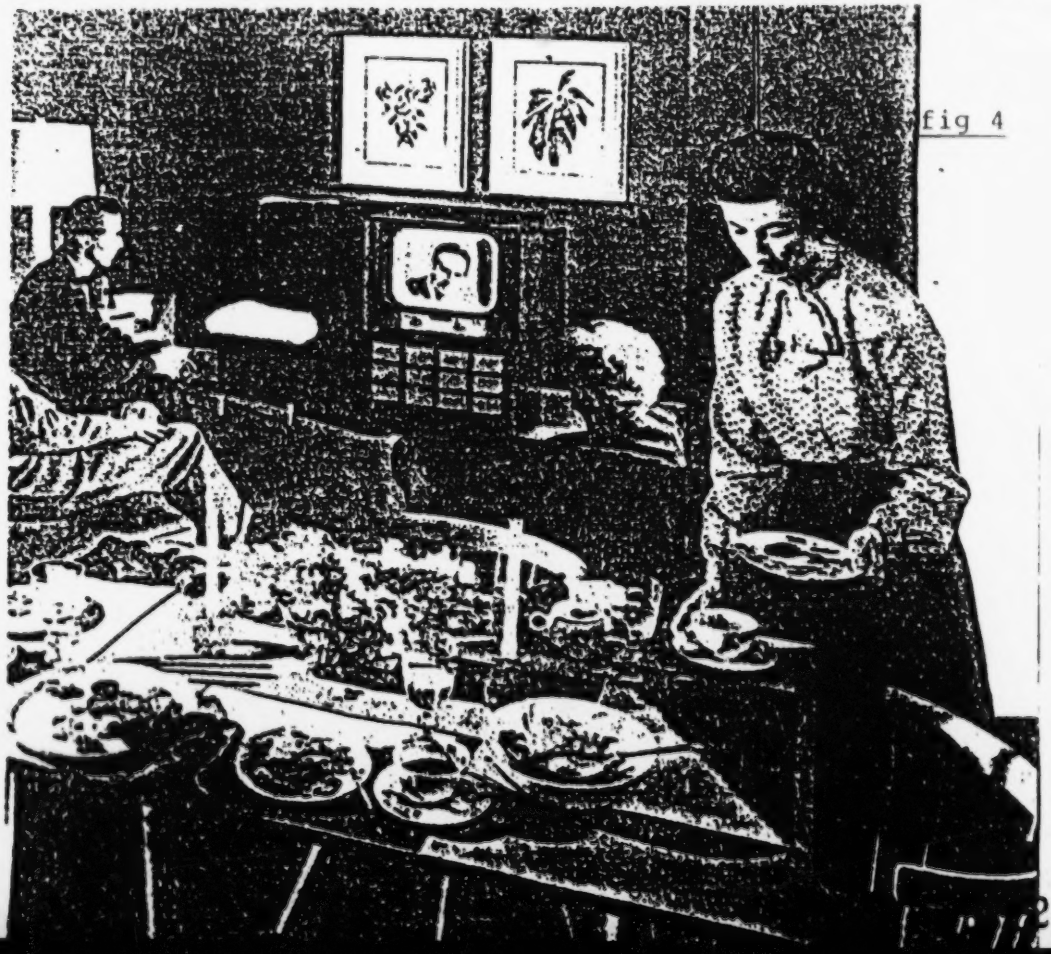
fig 2

fig 3



Curved sofa and folding screen mark off television corner from living room and dining area (see top right, opposite page). Thus it takes no more than an extra ten steps or so to serve the TV fans. The coffee table top is made of quarry tile.

fig 4



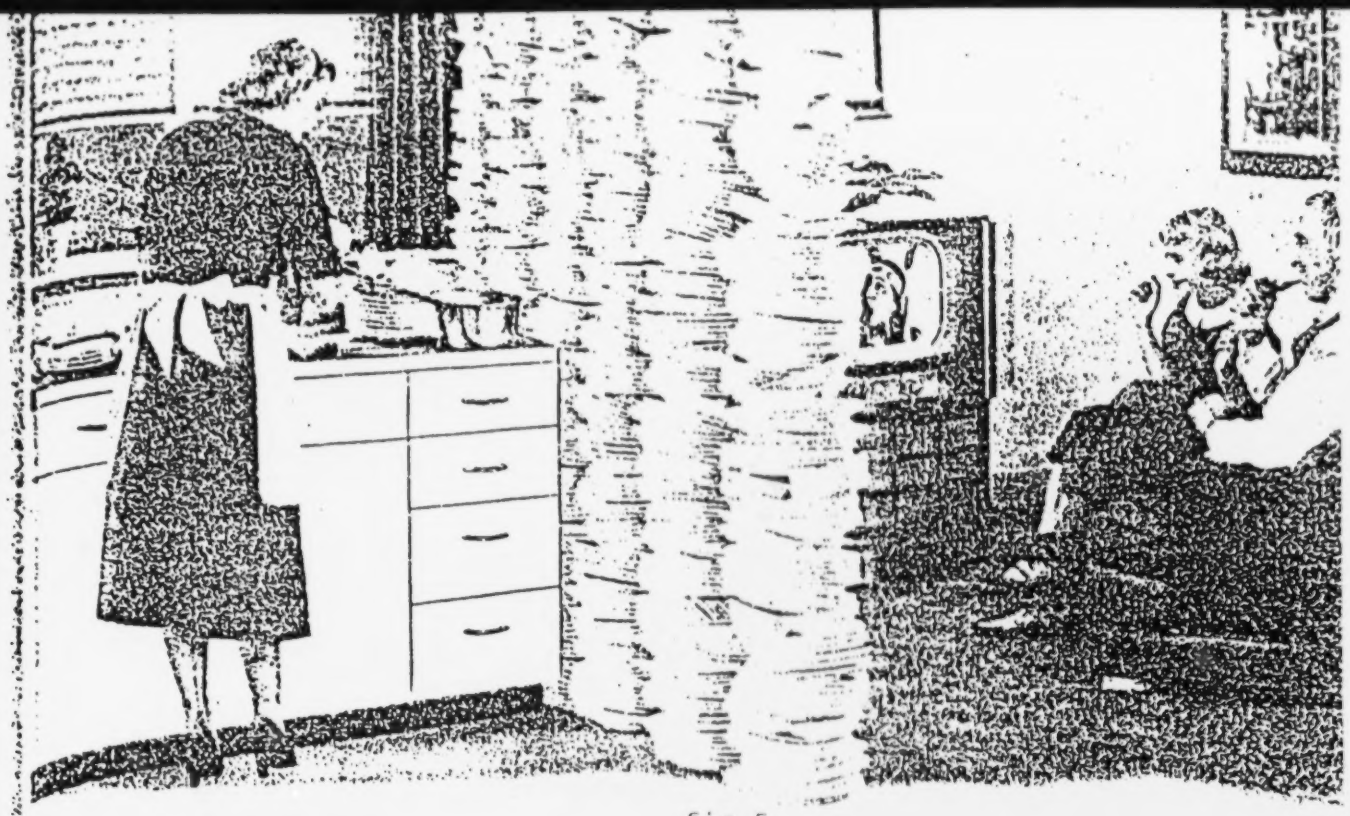


fig 5

Please... let your wife come into the living room

DON'T let dirty dishes make your wife a kitchen exile! She loses the most precious hours of her life shut off from pleasures of the family circle by the never-ending chore of old-fashioned dishwashing! It's easy to banish the barrier of dishpan drudgery and let her join the family fun—the modern, automatic Hotpoint way!

● **The wonderful, new Hotpoint** Automatic Electric Dishwasher is the greatest time- and labor-saving appliance ever invented for the home. It also protects your family's health by doing dishes the sanitary way—many, many times cleaner than is possible by hand. And it saves your wife at least an extra hour every day—seven hours a week—that she can devote to happier home-making for the entire family! Hotpoint Inc. *(A General Electric Affiliate)*, 5600 W. Taylor St., Chicago 44.

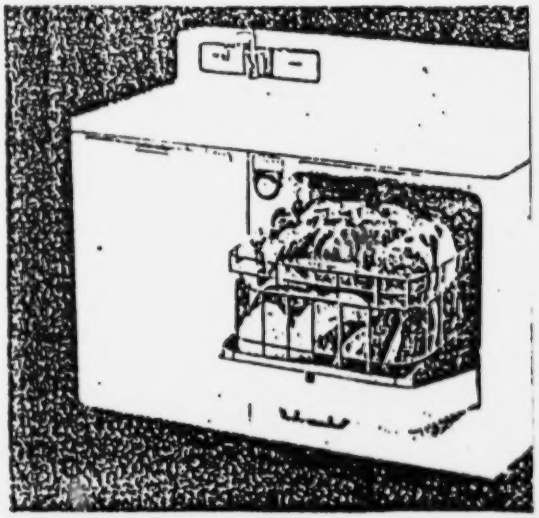
● **IMPORTANT NOTE:** What could be a more pleasant surprise for your wife at Christmas than the gift of a beautiful Hotpoint Automatic Dishwasher!

Guaranteed by Good Housekeeping

Everybody's Pointing To

Hotpoint

Automatic · Electric Dishwashers



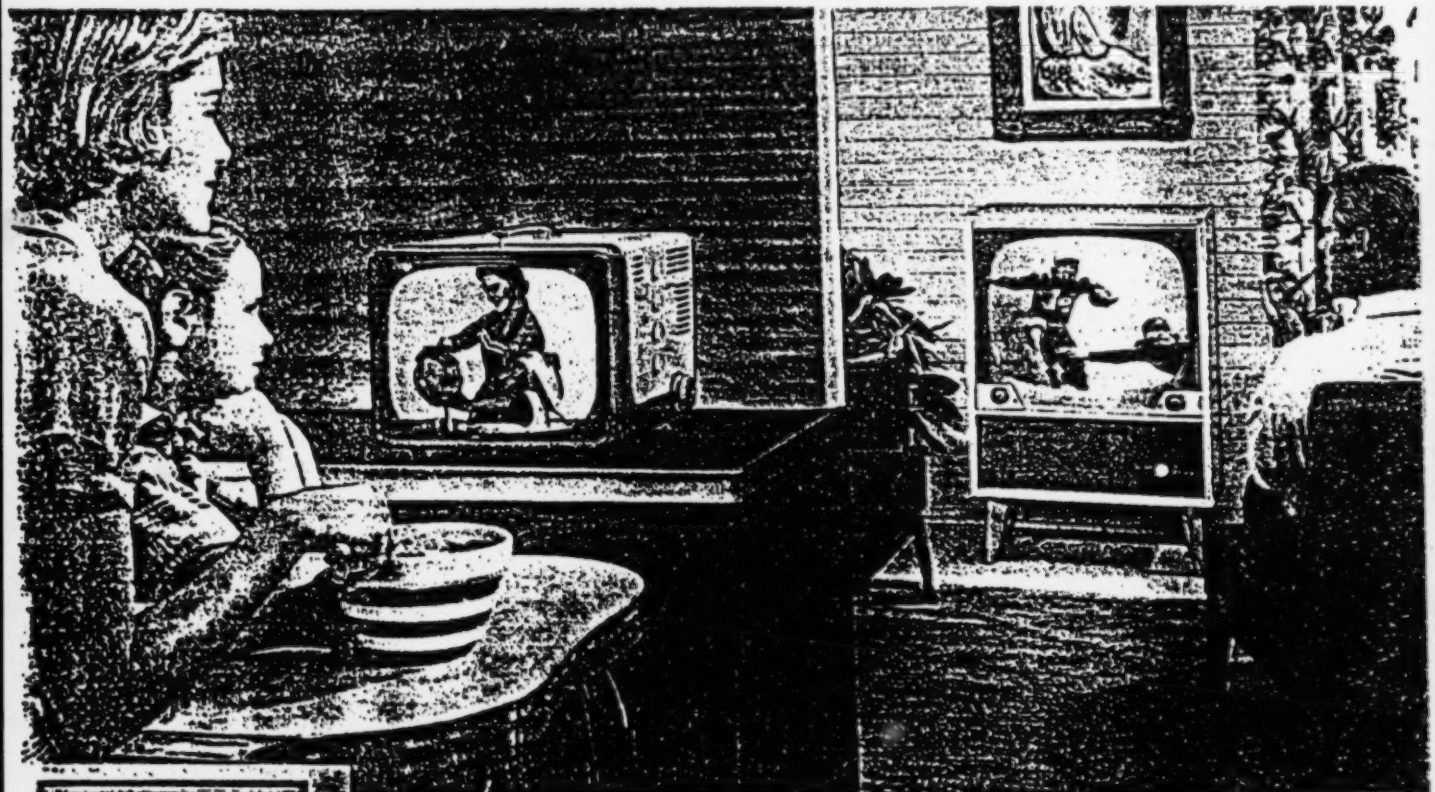
● **Doing dishes the Hotpoint workless way is easy and c** a few pennies a day. You simply put the dishes in the Automatic Dishwasher, turn one switch and the job's don thing—dishes, silverware, pots, pans and casseroles—is washed, double-rinsed and dried electrically.

Look To Hotpoint For The Finest . . . First!

RANGES • REFRIGERATORS • DISHWASHERS • DISPOSALLS • • WATER HEA
FREEZERS • AUTOMATIC WASHERS • CLOTHES DRYERS • ROTARY IRONERS

Now... see what you want to see with new G-E TV from $99.95

fig 6



W! G-E Clock-TV! Watch late shows the sandman comes—Clock-TV turns itself off automatically. Wakes you in the morning. Reminds you of favorite programs. Yet costs less than other TV buys this useful feature!

NEW! 32-lb. G-E Personal TV—goes where you go! So light, carry it easily from room to room... kitchen, bedroom, patio. Take it along on trips... to the country. Amazingly bright picture—low price—from $99.95.

NEW! G-E 24-inch TV. Show your friends the biggest, brightest picture ever! Smart space-saving cabinet. Enjoy G-E "Daylight Power"—famous G-E Aluminized Tube—Super-power transformer—Hi-contrast, dark safety glass.

Prices include Federal Excise Tax, one-year warranty on picture tube, 90-days on parts. Prices subject to change without notice.

See G.E. on TV: "Warner Bros. Presents" (ABC-TV)

WHEN Dad wants to watch the game... Mom and Sis, the cooking show... there's too much traffic for one TV to handle. It's easy to have a TV for everyone at G.E.'s new low prices. Starting at $99.95, two now cost less than millions paid for one. You'll thrill to G-E "Daylight Power" that makes the picture so clear you can view with shades up, lights on... even in the open. See G.E.'s new 32-lb. portable, the Automatic Clock-TV, the mammoth 24-inch model. All low-priced at your G-E Television dealer. General Electric Company, Radio & Television Department, Syracuse, New York.

Progress Is Our Most Important Product

GENERAL ELECTRIC

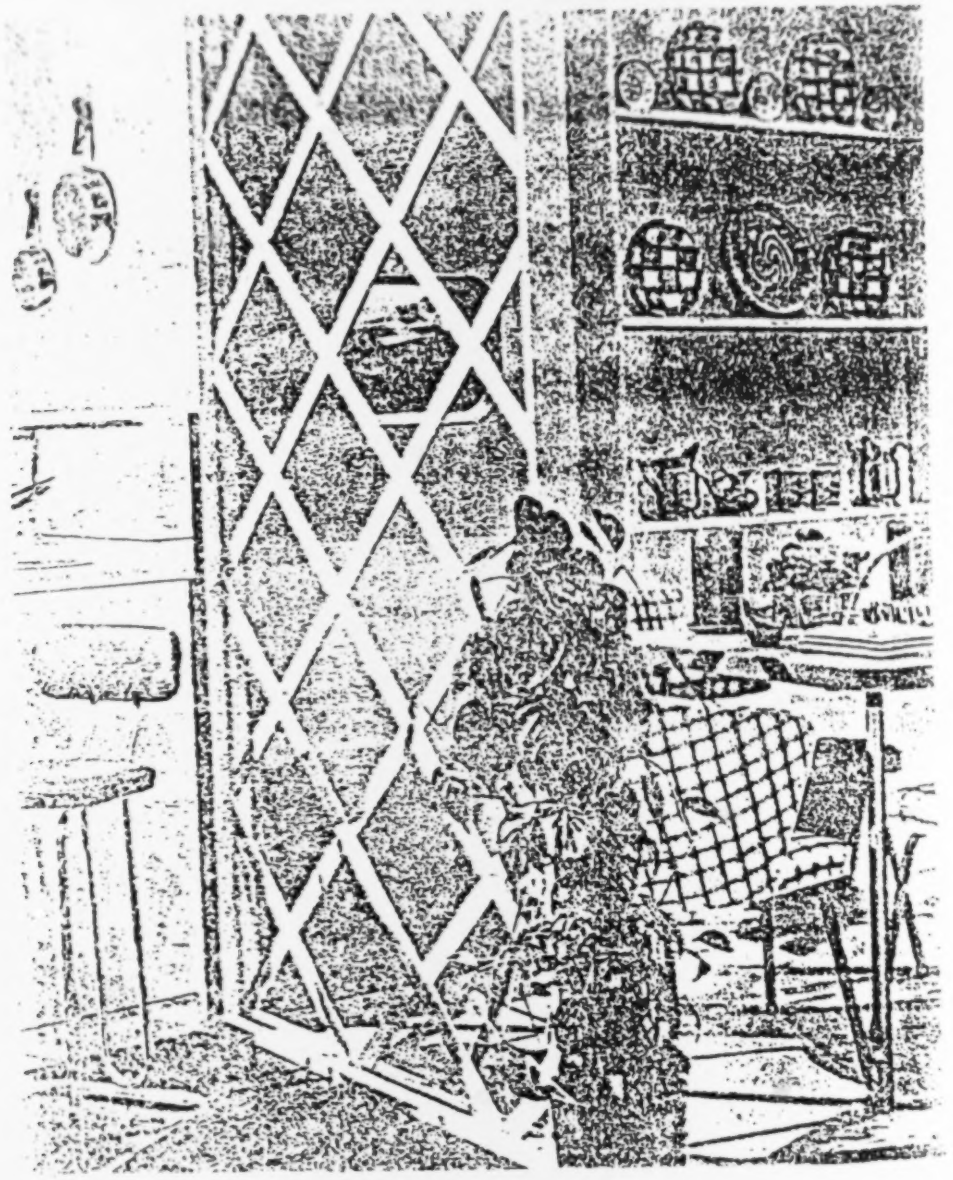
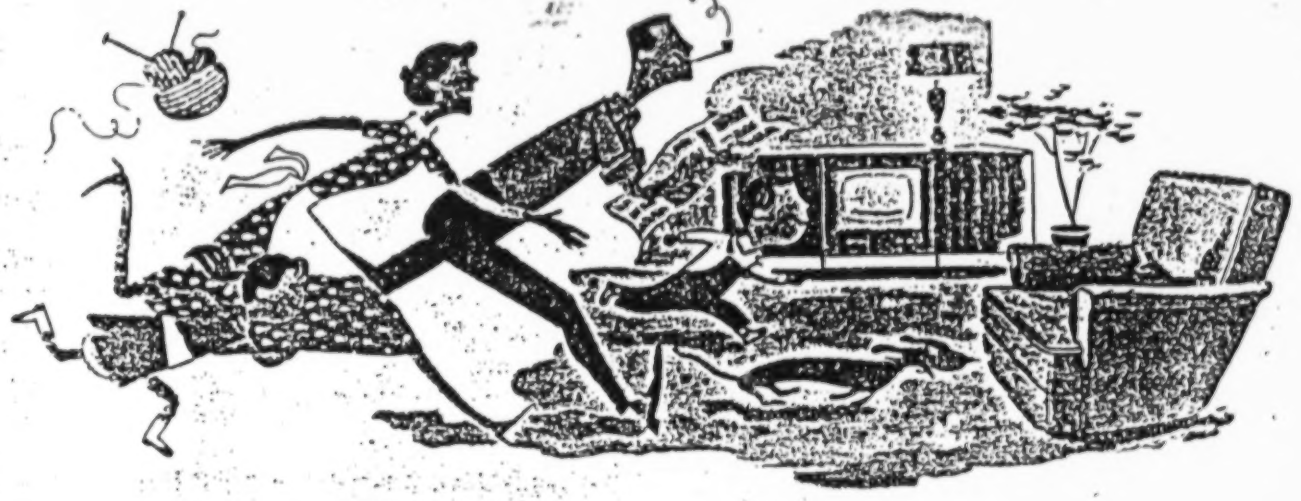


fig 7

comfort *the whole family fights for!*



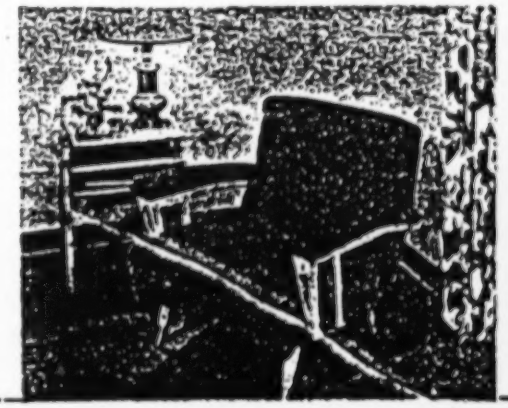
clevelander *Swivel-Rocker T-Vue Chair*

fig 8

No wonder everybody makes a beeline for your Clevelander—it's more relaxing than any other chair in the house! Once you sink into the softness of Clevelander's cloud-like contours, cares seem to float av ... tired muscles relax ... you enjoy the most completel restful part of the day. And, this new, exciting swivel-rocker is actually 3 chairs in 1. Mother likes to gently rock as she sews ... Dad likes to stretch out with his feet on an ottoman ... and who wouldn't like to turn w ease—without getting up? Smartly styled, expertly tailored, available in a host of flattering fabrics to enhance the beauty of the finest home. For real chair comfort that *belongs* in your home, see Clevelander at your dealer's today.

clevelander

Made only by Cleveland Chair Co., Inc., Cleveland, Pa



NEW! Modern occasional chair, at right, designed exclusively for Clevelander by the famous designer, Ray Carleson. Upholstered in beautiful decorator fabrics to blend with the decor of your home. At finer stores everywhere.

Guaranteed by Good Housekeeping

24

your name _____

and address _____

FREE! Send for colorful booklet, "Chair Harmony," and name of nearest dealer. Write Dept. E, Cleveland Chair Co., Cleveland, Tenn. Manufacturers of fine chairs since 1915.

.v RCA Victor Television with Rotomatic Tuning brings you more to see—less to do

More detail—a stronger, sharper picture wherever you live. ROTOMATIC *gets* it, MAGIC MONITOR *holds* it!

More stations—with TV's big new nationwide expansion.

Less "dialing"—every station already *tuned on target*, all ROTOMATIC on one knob!

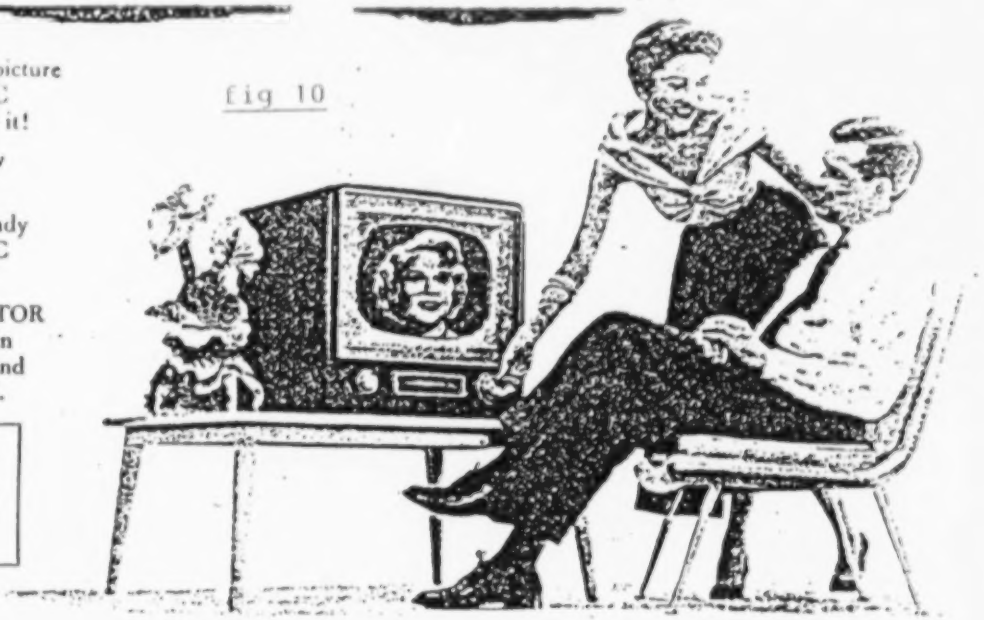
Less "adjusting"—MAGIC MONITOR circuit system *automatically* ties in finest sound, screens out static and interference, controls power level.

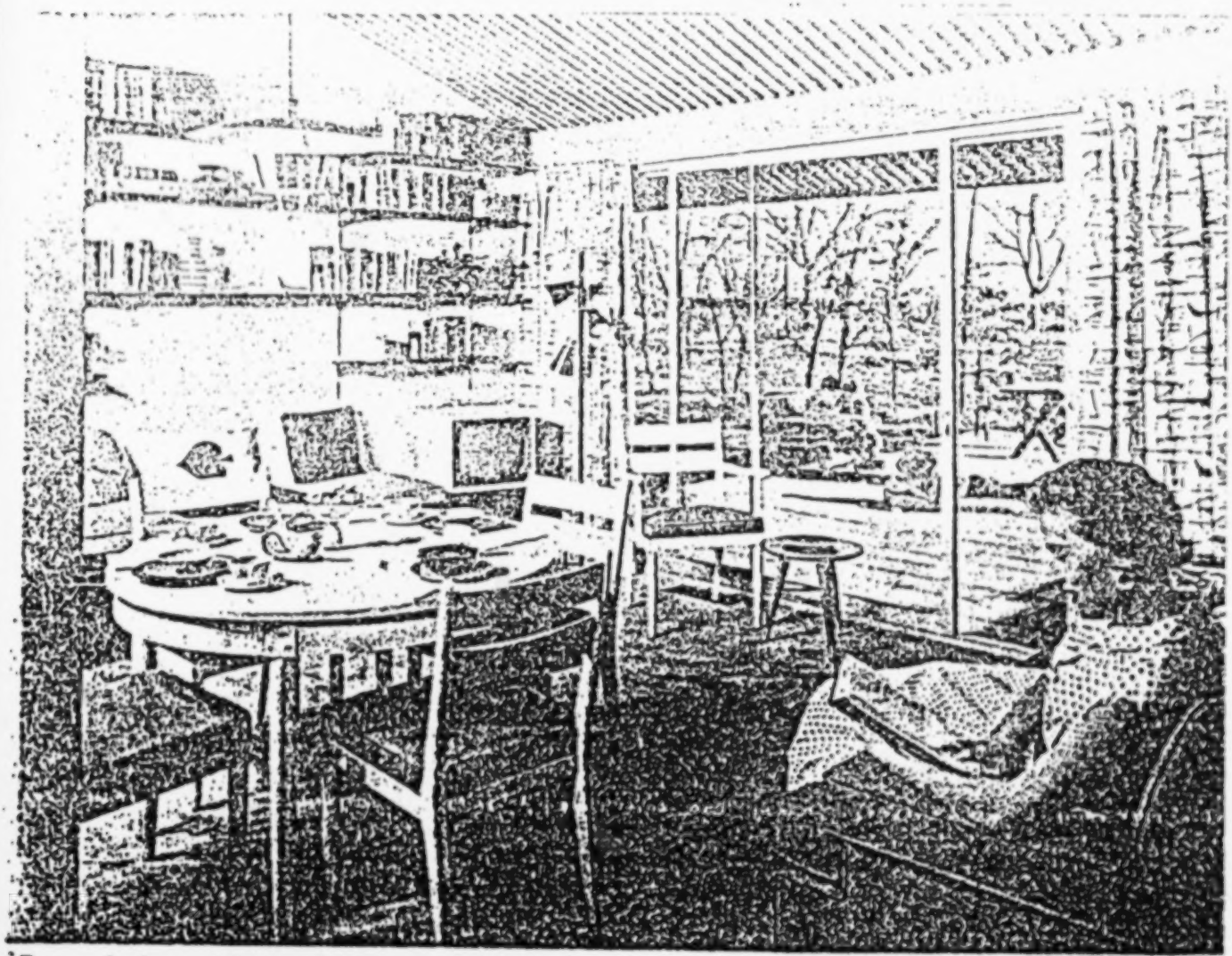
Lowest prices ever!

17-inch TV as low as **$179.95**

21-inch TV as low as **$229.95**

fig 10





To many, family room is best room in house—the all-in-one room. Here's dining, television, reading, games, and easy route to outdoors. Big glass doors slide; 3-foot overhang shades windows all around house

fig 12

...an's Pleasure is the body-coddling ...ort of a chair softly cushioned and utterly ...ing. No wonder men favor furniture that's ...oneered with AIRFOAM! This wonderful new ... rubber cushioning is so superbly soft and ...ant, so blissfully restful, it brings complete ...xation to weary muscles. That's because ...OAM cuddles up to and supports every weary ... It's super comfort that lasts for years!

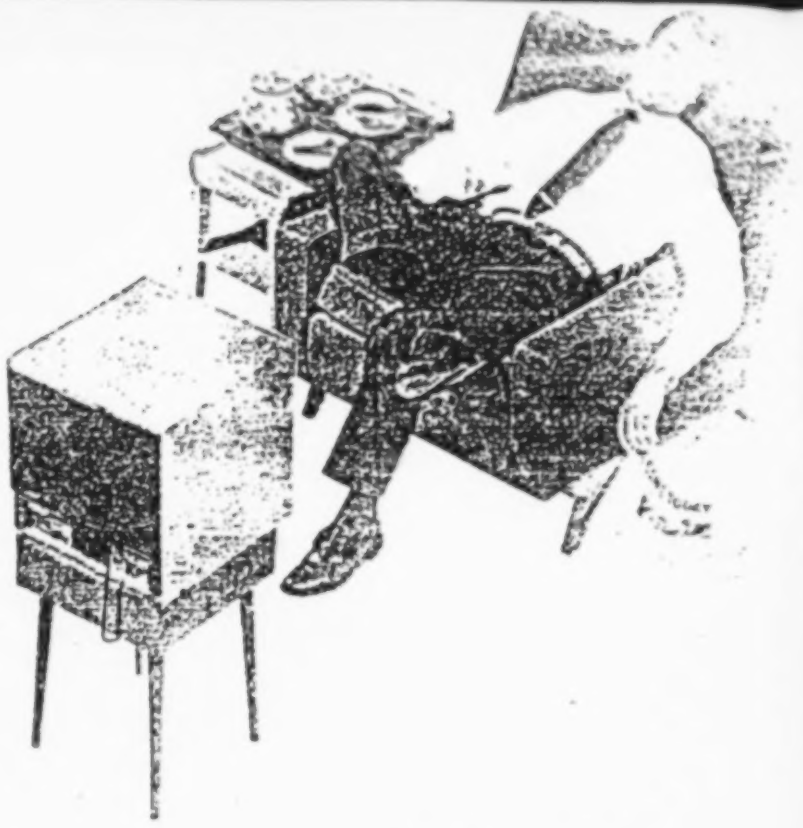


fig 9

Woman's Treasure is a hom... lovely to look at, easy to keep perfectly tid... and neat. That's why smart women wan... nothing but AIRFOAM cushioned furniture... This sumptuous Super-Cushioning neve... needs fluffing, never looks crushed after use... You can sit on it for hours and it plumps righ... up again without a sag or wrinkle—fresh an... cool and dustless as the day it was made. It's a deep comfort to use, and a treasured joy t... live with! Goodyear, Airfoam Division, Akron 16, Ohio.

PRESS DOWN ON AIRFOAM, feel its tender resilience, its immediate buoyant uplift. That's the secret of its lovepleasing comfort.

Airfoam

SUPER-CUSHIONING BY

GOODYEAR

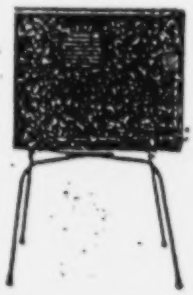
THE GREATEST NAME IN RUBBER

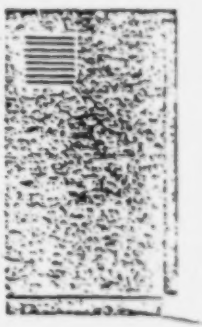
Airfoam—T. M. The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio

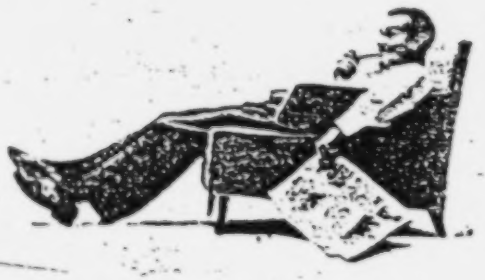
LOOK FOR AIRFOAM in furniture cars footwear pillows and Englander Mattresses

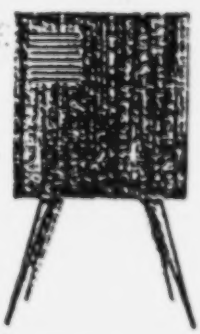
CBS-COLUMBIA TELEVISION RECEIVERS BRING YOU THE ONLY FULL FIDELITY TV

fig 11









ANNIVERSARY—17-inch table model, ebony finish.

PRESIDENT—21-inch console, Mastertone Series.

AMBASSADOR—21-inch de luxe Mastertone Series.

PROJECTS 88 PICTURES A SECOND! The amazing CBS-Columbia Photo Electron Gun shoots a beam of billions of electrons across the picture screen . . . shadows "dots of light" of absolute uniformity. This determines picture depth and detail—ensures Full Fidelity Sight.

SWITCH IT ON AND THE WHOLE ROOM PLAYS! Hear for yourself the room-filling reality of 360 Full Fidelity Sound. The amazing CBS high-fidelity audio system uses two speakers instead of one . . . two sound outlets instead of one . . . at each side of the cabinet. Thus creating the remarkable effect of being surrounded on all sides by sound. This is 360 Full Fidelity Sound—with range and depth that's a delight to hear. Available in 21, 24 and 27-inch models.

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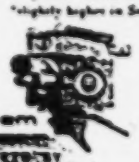
Built-in all-channel UHF *and* VHF *reception.*

as low as *$179.95** *including federal tax, full-year warranty on picture tube, standard warranty on all parts.*

*slightly higher in South and West.



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